
AN
ANSWER
TO THE
Late King *JAMES*'s
DECLARATION.

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Late King *JAMES*'s Declaration
T O A L L H I S
Pretended S U B J E C T S
I N T H E
Kingdom of England,

Dated at *Dublin-Castle*, May 8. 1689.

Ordered by a Vote of the Right Honourable the
House of Commons, to be burnt by the Common-
Hangman.

James Hurwood
By J. W. M. D.

Published according to Order.

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the *Poultry*. MDCLXXXIX.

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Late King *JAMES*'s Declaration

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Pretended S U B J E C T S, &c.



W H E N one reflects upon the continued Conduct of the Late King *James* both before and after his Accession to the Crown, and the dismal Consequences thereof to these Three Kingdoms, and at last to himself, I cannot but regret the Fate of those Princes, that abandon their true Interest, Reason, Conscience and Honour, to *Jesuitick* Councils, and enslave themselves to a Party, justly abominated by the better part of the *Romish* Church it self, for their gross Encroachments upon Religion, Morality, and all
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that's Sacred among men. When I look back to the many Tragedies acted by that Fraternity, both in this, and the last Age, scarce a Kingdom or State in *Europe*, where their Villanies have not come up to the utmost reach of depraved Nature: When I call to mind the Horrid Desolations, Murders and Wars, they have been instrumental of, in the most remote parts of the World; witness some Millions of Souls in *Japan*, and other parts of *Asia*, sacrific'd not many Years ago, to their Ambition and Intrigues, under the Notion of propagating the Catholick Faith; I say, when I consider all these things, I am the less surprized with the dismal Effects of their Councils in *England*, since the same Fate attends them every where. But I must confess, That among all the Martyrs to *Loyola's* Principles, there is none more justly claims our Compassion, than the Late King *James*. To see a Prince, naturally of no bad Temper, imposed upon by these zealous Bigots, to trample upon the Religion and Liberties of His People, contrary to Fundamental Laws, and the most solemn Promises and Oaths, under the false Mask of Piety and Zeal to the Catholick Faith, and at length to find him seduc'd to abandon His Kingdoms, and thereby an absolute necessity put upon the Representatives of the People, to fill up His Throne, vacated by His own Fault, is a Subject that naturally displays the vanity of human Greatness. And I may add, That the unaccountable Doctrine of *Passive Obedience*, as it was the Source of a great many Mischiefs among our selves, so what has befallen that King, may be partly imputed to it; for the believing, That without controul he might do what he pleas'd, encourag'd him to take such measures as have brought upon him all
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his Misfortunes. I cannot but at the same time represent to my self, with that emotion of mind the affrighted Passenger looks back upon the devouring Billows he has lately escap'd, the dismal Scene of Ruin that so lately threatned us, and that Abyss of Misery we had certainly been plung'd into e're now, if his present Majesty had not opportunely delivered us from the very Jaws of Death and Ruin.

That any of the Protestant Perswasion at home, should be found Repiners at this mighty Deliverance, is in my humble opinion, an unaccountable piece of Ingratitude and Weakness at once; When all the Reformed States abroad, look upon this great Revolution in *Brittain*, as the most happy Providence that has appear'd on the Theatre of *Europe* this Century of Years. The late mighty Enterprize of His Majesty, was the Result of the united Consultations of all the Foreign Protestant States and Princes in this part of *Christendom*; who settled upon it, as the last Cast of the Dye, for their Religion and Liberty; and with a trembling Expectation, made Vows to Almighty God, for the Success of an Attempt, they wisely foresaw, carried in its Womb, the Fate not only of these Three Kingdoms, but of all the Reformed Churches of *Europe*.

When Heaven had smil'd upon this stupendious Attempt, and had beyond the usual Tract of Providence, vouchsafed us a Deliverance scarce equal'd in the Records of Time, Who would have imagin'd that *England* should produce such a sort of Monsters, as seem to be in love with Slavery and Ruin, the necessary Consequences of their Folly? And that there are such a sort of Men, we have a plain Demonstration in these unhappy Wretches that have so industriously dispers'd

through this great City, that Paper called, **King James His Declaration to all His Loving Subjects in the Kingdom of England.** A Paper, I could have wish'd for King *James's* own Honour had been buried in Eternal Oblivion. since it contains a heap of Falsities, that was below a Prince to affirm, and which are known to be so, by no fewer than the people of Three Kingdoms. In giving my Reflections upon this Declaration, the Respect due to one that was lately a Crowned Head, with some other just motives, obliges me to do it with more reservedness than perhaps such a Paper deserves; and instead of a needless exposing a Prince, that has His Honour too much sunk already, in the eyes of all *Europe*, I shall with all the Calmness and Candor possible, examine the Declaration it self, without Reflections upon the Prince whose it is; and shall not omit one single Sentence in it, that can be interpreted even by Himself, of any Consequence.

Thus His Declaration begins, **Altho the many Calumnies and dismal Stories, by which Our Enemies have endeavoured to render Us and Our Government odious to the World, do now appear to have been advanc'd by them, not only without any ground, but against their own certain Knowledg; as is evident by their not daring to attempt the proving these Charges to the World, which we cannot but hope, hath open'd the eyes of Our good Subjects, to see how they have been imposed upon by designing men, who to promote their own Ambitious Ends, care not what Sins they**

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they reduce Our Kingdoms to. It seems King
JAMES continues in His wonted road, of ta-
king wrong measures both of Persons and Actions,
which has been the occasion of all His Misfortunes.
When he talks of his Enemies, that have rendred him
and his Government odious to the World, He mistakes
himself, if he means those Worthy Patriots, that be-
ing weary of his insupportable Incroachments upon
the Religious and Civil Liberties of these Nations,
did lend a hand, to deliver themselves and Fellow-
subjects from a Ruine that seem'd almost inevitable.
But if He had been at the pains to make an impartial
Survey of his own Actings, and the pernicious Coun-
sels of a sort of Men about him, He might easily come
to know, That His only and real Enemies were those
Popish Emissaries, that valued not how much His Ho-
nour suffer'd, nor His Crown were indanger'd, if so
be they might bring about their own hidden Designs;
and were willing to sacrifice both Him, and His Inte-
rests, to their own by-ends. Never Prince was so un-
happy in His Cabinet-Council as He; and that *false*
light which led Him to imploy none about Him, with
any intimacy of confidence, but those of His own Per-
suasion, prov'd an *Ignis fatuus*, that cheated Him in-
to Paths never trod by any of His Predecessors, but
to their destruction. If He had been so happy, as to
have continued in His most Secret Councils a great
many Persons of the Reform'd Religion, whom He
kept at a distance, though to amuse the Nation He
allowed them the empty Names of Privy Council-
lors; He had not brought three Kingdoms to the brink
of Ruine, nor upon Himself so hard a fate. Yet I
must acknowledge some part of the obligation we
have

have to these Gentlemen, that of late had the sole conduct of King *JAMES* His Affairs ; For in giving Him such Counsels as His greatest Enemies could have wish'd Him, they prov'd the occasion of our being at this day happy under the Auspicious Reign of Their Majesties, being Princes of the same Religion and Interests with Their People ; And we may justly say, as *Themistocles* of old, *We had undoubtedly perish'd, if we had not perish'd.* How little is King *James* oblig'd to His Secretary that penn'd this Declaration, since he so foolishly rakes up the Remembrance of those things that made Him and His Government odious to the World, by the names of Calumnies and Stories, which it was so much his Master's Interest to bury in silence ? Good God ! Were the late palpable and barefac'd Inroachments upon the Fundamental Laws of the Nation, but Calumnies ? Were the open Violations of Solemn Oaths, Promises and Engagements, but Stories ? Does King *JAMES*, or His *French* and *Irish* Councillors imagine, that we have so soon forgot His *Promises made in Council* not many hours after His Brother's Death, and his conspicuous Breaches of them not many months thereafter ? Can we allow our selves to forget, that all the Trusts both in *Court, Bench, and the Army*, were fill'd up with these very Men, whom Reiterated Laws had rendred incapable of them ? Was a *Person's sitting at the Council-board*, whose very being found in *England* was death by the Law, but a mere Calumny ? Can a few months be able to obliterate the Memory of that Affair of *Magdalen Colledge*, one of the most open Invasions of Property that could be ? Have we lost the Remembrance of that Illegal *Ecclesiastical Court*, and the Tyrannick

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Judgments past therein? Have we not seen a *Reverend Prelate* suspended from his Function, merely because he would not do what he could not, that is, for not condemning a man unheard? Have not we seen Seven of the *Spiritual Peers* of *England*, sent Prisoners to the *Tower*, and brought as Criminals to the Bar, for barely representing the Reasons, why they could not obey an Arbitrary Command, contrary to their Conscience? Both *England*, and our Neighbouring Nation have too many Reasons, to remember the Late King *James's* assuming to himself an *Arbitrary and Despotick Power*, not only to dispence with Laws, and the firmest Constitutions, but to act diametrically opposite to them. Can King *James's* Oratory persuade us, That the continuing to Levy the *Customs and additional Excise*, (which had been only granted during the Late King *Charles's* Life) before the Parliament could meet to renew this Grant, was but a Calumny? Was the strange Essay of *Mahometan Government*, acted at *Taunton* and *Lyme*; and the no less strange Proceedings of that Bloody Chief Justice, in his Western Circuit, (justly term'd *his Campaign*, for it was an open Hostility to all Law) for which, and the like Services, he had the reward of the Great Seal, were they all but Stories? We have too good Reason not to forget the many Violences committed by the Soldiers of a standing Army in most Parts of *England* and *Scotland*, which are the most severe and insupportable Invasions of Property.

These, and such like, with a great many more, were the things that render'd King *James's* Government justly *Odious to the Brittish World*, and made these.

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these three Kingdoms groan after Liberty. If so grave and Tragick a Subject, could allow it, I could be almost tempted to laugh at that Expression in the Declaration, of his Enemies not daring to attempt the proving these Charges to the World; which is all one, as if a Man in the severest fit of the Gout, should be desir'd to prove that he is so, when the Sense of the Pain proves too sad a remembrancer of his Distemper. And indeed, this part of King *James's* Declaration merits no other answer, than that of the *Philosopher*, to him who deni'd motion, When making a step up and down the Room, he vouchsafed him no other Refutation of his Ridiculous Assertion, than these two words, *hicne Motus?* In fine, It will be equally impossible to persuade the World, that these Actions, that render'd King *James's* Government *Odious to the World*, were but Calumnies and Stories, as to persuade a Man upon the Rack, that he feels no pain. How unluckily have the Penners of this Declaration, stumbled upon that Expression, **of his Enemies not caring what Slavery they reduce the Kingdoms to?** *Quis tulerit Gracchos?* That King *James* had in a great measure, enslav'd these Nations, and was upon the Ripening his designs, in Conjunction with *Lewis* the 14th, to teach us a *French kind of Subjection*, has appear'd in legible Characters, by the whole Scheme of his Actings: But, since his present Majesties Accession to the Throne, there is not the least footstep of Slavery left us; we are blest with a King that takes the Advice of his Parliament, and owns no distinct Interest from that of his People; a Prince, who to deliver us from Poverty,

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pery and Slavery, has ventur'd his *All*, and who by his Conduct at home, and his Allies abroad, is capable to render us happy, if our own Divisions and Folly do not precipitate us into an inevitable and unpitied Ruin.

In the next place, King *James* tells us, **That** since his Arrival in Ireland, the Defence of his Protestant Subjects (as he calls them) their Religion, Priviledges and Properties, is especially his Care, with the Recovery of his own Rights. And to this end, he has preferr'd such of them, of whose Loyalty and Affection he is satisfied, to places both of the highest Honour and Trust about his Person, as well as in his Army. The reading of these Lines, puts me in mind of the Parallel so exactly observ'd betwixt the *French* King, and King *James*, in all their Conduct, and particularly in both their way of asserting the calm Methods us'd by them towards their Protestant Subjects. When that *Common Enemy of the Christian Part of Europe* (as the present Pope was pleas'd to call him) had outdone all the *Nero's*, and *Julian's* of old, in the art of Persecution, and had render'd himself abominated to the World, by the Cruelties committed by his Dragoon Missioners upon those very People that had done him the best Offices, and preserved the Crown upon his Head in his Minority; yet at the very same time, *Lewis* the 14th, and his Ministers, have had the Impudence to affirm, That no other Methods were

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us'd to convert these poor Victims, but those of fair Persuasion and Calmness. Just so King *James*, that he may follow as near his Copy as possible, having since his Arrival in *Ireland*, abandoned the Protestants of that Country to the merciless Rage of an Enemy irreconcilable, from both a Principle of Religion and Civil Interest, who within his View have laid desolate whole Counties, and acted Barbarities proper only to themselves, and their *French* Confederates; and by which they have forc'd away a great many Thousands from their Country, at the point of Starving, having sav'd nothing of their Fortunes from so universal a Calamity. Yet, notwithstanding all this appears in the Face of the Sun, King *James*, that he may not come short of his Patron, boldly affirms, That the Religion, Priviledges and Properties of his Protestant Subjects (as he names them) are his chiefest Care over and above. What a gross Contradiction is it to common Sense and Reason, that a Prince bigotted to the *Romish* Religion, and enslav'd to Jesuitick Councils, should make that Religion, which in his Opinion, is an execrable *Heresy*, become his equal Care, with what he calls the *Recovery of his Right*? Sure I am, in this Expression he has mightily overacted his part, and nothing but a belief capable to receive *Transubstantiation*, can be persuaded of the fair meaning of it. If the Proposition could possibly admit of a favourable Construction, then it must necessarily follow, That King *James* is of another Communion than that of *Rome*, which
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were a great injury done him to suppose, seeing he has given us such convincing Proofs to the contrary: For every *Roman Catholick* is obliged to look upon the Protestants as *Hereticks*, and their Religion as *Heresy*; and we have once every year the *imaginary Successor of Saint Peter*, formally Cursing us in Person; and from his plenary Power, declaring us to be fallen from all our Civil Rights. If King *James* had said, The Protestants are his Care, meaning the Conversion of them to his Religion by the calm methods of a Dragoon Mission, he would have found no great difficulty to have been believ'd. But to affirm that, **That pestilent Northern Heresie**, the Protestant Religion, **was his care**, is, indeed a stretch beyond the ordinary pitch of Jesuitick Equivocation it self. We have had occasion enough to be acquainted with the Charity of the Church of *Rome*, towards those of our Religion; It has been both fervent and burning: And lest we should forget what has been done in former Ages, *France* and *Savoy* have of late set before us new instances of the Charity of that Church. No doubt King *James's* sincerity in this assertion, **is** the same with that of all his Promises: And, albeit when he was upon the Throne, we were told in some of his *Proclamations*, That we were bound to obey **without reserve**; it's hardship upon hardship to be oblig'd, now when he is justly Abdicated, to **believe without reserve**.

But, that we may the easier be persuaded of King *James's* care of the Protestants of *Ireland*, and their Properties, let us take a short glance of the great favours he has bestowed on them, since his Arrival there. One would think, that a Man's *Estate*, his *House*, *Furniture*, his *Arms*, *Money Chattels*, and the like, were included under the word **Property**: King *James* his care has been so transcendently great of this sort of Property, that there are at this day, in *England* and the Neighbouring Nations, Noblemen, Gentlemen, Clergy, Merchants, and Tradesmen, whose Estates, seiz'd upon by King *James's* Order, amounts to more than Four Millions of Pounds *Sterling*: If any doubt the Truth of this, I refer them to the List and Account, taken of the *Irish* Protestants by the Commissioners appointed by the King for that effect. Neither is there, at present, one single Protestant within that Kingdom, that can rationally assure himself of one moments possession of what the Barbarous *Irish* has left them yet undestroyed. Who knows not, That upon weighty Reasons, the Wisdom of the Kings of *England* thought it very dangerous to trust the Natives of *Ireland* with Arms, knowing from many funest Experiences, they were a People impatient of the *English* *Yoke*, and ready to accept all occasions to throw it off. But King *James* treads quite another Path; instead of dis-arming these his darling *Wild Irish*, they are the only People he can trust, as knowing their furious Zeal to His Religion, and their Hereditary hatred to the

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the *English* Nation, renders them fit Instruments, to execute the Designs concerted betwixt Him, and his Intimate Allie, the *French* King: And, which, to capacitate them the better to effectuate, he has wisely dis-armed beforehand, the whole Protestants of that Kingdom, and prepared them ready Victims for their Bloody Enemies, when ever it shall be time to give the Blow. I confess, it requires the greatest stock of patience, to hear one boldly affirm his Care of my Life, and at the same time to see him give me up, bound and defenceless, into the Hands of my cruel and mortal Enemies.

There is another transcendent Instance of King *JAMES's* **Care of the Protestants in Ireland, their Religion, and Property**, which merits to be engraven in *Corinthian* Brass, to Posterity. All that are in the least acquainted with the Laws and Affairs of that Kingdom, know, That the *Act of Settlement* is the great Security of the Protestants, their Religion, and Properties, and the Fundamental Right they have to their Estates, conquer'd from the Rebellious *Irish*, at the expence of their Blood and Treasure. By this *Act*, the *lasting Landmarks* are fixt among the Protestants themselves, and between them and the Natives. This is indeed the *Magna Charta* of the Protestants of *Ireland*, and the true *Basis* of their Liberties and Properties; upon the taking away of which, the Superstructure must tumble to the ground. Now King *JAMES's* **Care of the Protestants** is of so high a nature, that
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in His first Speech to His *Mock-Parliament*, consisting all of Papists (except about Five or Six) May 7. he assures them, *He would consent to the enacting such Laws as might relieve them of the Act of Settlement.* And May 10. we find it moved in the House, *That nothing could be more advantageous to the King and Countrey, than to destroy the horrid barbarous Act of Settlement; and whosoever shall alledg the contrary, shall be deem'd an Enemy to both.* Thereafter we find it mov'd by one of the *Worthy Members* of that Parliament, *That the Act of Settlement should be publicly burnt by the Common Hangman.* Behold the transcendent Care of King *JAMES* for the Priviledges and Properties of the Protestants of *Ireland!* His accustomed Zeal obliges him at the first meeting of His *Packt-up Popish Parliament*, to put them in mind of the best methods to Repeal the *Great Security of the Protestants Estates.* His impatience to have this done, could not stay till it had been propos'd by any of the Members themselves; He must needs demonstrate his tenderness to his *belov'd Irish*, by leading them the way how to break off the *English Yoak*, and make an inroad upon those Properties the Protestants had acquired at the expence of their Blood. As I intimated before, it was ever the Maxim of *English Policy*, to bridle in the unwearied Attempts of the *Irish*, for regaining their Countrey, by a good standing Army in that Kingdom, consisting of Protestants: But here we have another Testimony of King *JAMES's* Care of the Protestants, in His turning out of all Places

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ces in the Army, those of that Persuasion, to make room for others of his own Religion. It was the Policy of all Nations to keep the People they had conquer'd, in as great ignorance of the *Art of War*, as possible, lest sometime or other they might shake off their Yoke, by a vigorous Rebellion. But King *JAMES* inclin'd to take other measures, and be at the greatest pains to teach an *indocible Nation* the use of Arms, that they might learn in due time to shake off the *English* Government.

As to the other part of the above-mentioned Assertion, **That he had advanced several of the Protestants in Ireland, to Places both of the highest Honour and Trust about His Person, as well as in His Army.**

To pass a just judgment upon this Assertion, we need only consider What sort of Persons are at present about King *JAMES* both in *Civil and Military Capacities*, and we shall find it hard to meet with one single Person of the Protestant Persuasion in the number. I could heartily wish, that all King *JAMES* His Actions could as easily admit an excuse as this; For the Authority assum'd upon Him by *Monsieur d'Avaux*, and His other *French Guardians*, puts it almost beyond His Power to employ *English Roman Catholicks*, far less *English Protestants*. At the Council-board we find none of the Protestants. The Offices of *Lord Lieutenant, Chancellor, Priuy Seal, Secretary* of

of State, Commissioners of the Treasury, Lord Chief Justice, Solicitor General, Attorney General, and all the Places of the Long Robe, are enjoy'd by Roman Catholicks. As to Military Capacities, there is not one single Garison, Fort, nor Castle within the whole Kingdom, except *London-derry* and *Iniskilling*, but are fill'd up with both Popish Governors, Officers and Soldiers. In the Army, all the Field Officers are either *French*, or Native *Irish* of the same Religion: Yea, the *French's* absoluteness both at the Council-board and the Army, has of late given the greatest Jealousie and Discontent to some that have done King *JAMES* the best service.

In the end of this first Paragraph we are told, That King *JAMES*, by granting His Royal Protection to such, whose minds were shaken by the Arts of His Rebellious Subjects, has dispell'd their Apprehensions, and effectually secur'd them against the Attempts even of their private Enemies. And then adds, His ears have been always open to their just Complaints: And so far has His Royal Mercy been extented to those that were in Arms against Him, that He has actually pardon'd several hundreds of them, and most notorious Criminals are kept in an easie Confinement. In reading this Period, I find King *JAMES* would impose upon our Belief and Senses something as much contradictory to it self, as *Transubstantiation*; and the one as hard to be digested as the other.

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The Church of *Rome* tells us magisterially, That albeit our Seeing, Feeling, Smelling, and Taste, combine together, to assure us, that the Bread and Wine is *really such*, yet we must not give credit to these fallible Senses of ours; but take it upon trust, from the Church, That what our Senses tell us to be Bread and Wine, is quite another thing; and that there is nothing there left of any such Elements, after once the Priest has mumbled over *the three Words*. Thus, King *James*, having long accustomed himself to an *Arbitrary Power* over our Persons and Properties, when King; He cannot refrain from venturing an Essay of it upon our Reason and Senses, even when he is laid aside: For, albeit our Senses are continually entertained with hundreds of Objects, that bear in upon our Reason, a certain Perswasion that the poor Protestants of *Ireland*, are every day flying away from that Country, at any rate, to avoid the many Barbarities exercised upon them; and that that Kingdom is become the Scene of Misery and Dissolution; yet King *James* would have us wisely lay aside these mean helps of Sense and Reason, and *take it upon his bare Word*, that there is no such thing; which I think very few will be inclinable to do. If what is asserted upon this subject be true, and consequently our Senses and Reason so strangely beguiled, it necessarily behoves us to pass no milder Judgment upon those Noblemen, Bishops, Gentlemen, and Persons of all ranks, that have left their Country, since King *James's* arrival there, but that they are *quite out of their Wits*: For what better Name can be given to Persons that have left their Country, Estates, and Employments, to become here the *greatest Objects of Charity*, when not only they might have been safe at home, but *secured*

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against the attempts of their private Enemies? In this Word *private Enemies*, we are obliged to King James's Secretary (whether out of Ignorance, or Design, I know not) for a fairly insinuated distinction of the Protestants in *Ireland*, their *private* and *publick Enemies*. We know that all *Roman Catholicks* are tyed, by the dictates of their Church, to be Enemies to the Protestants; and to extirpate them, when it comes in their power: And this, as flowing from a publick interest of Religion, may justly be termed a *publick Enmity*: But the Natives of *Ireland*, over and above that publick quarrel of Religion, have a private one of Revenge, for recovering from the Protestants their Lands acquired by the Sword; and no age has passed since the Conquest of *Ireland*, but what has afforded bloody proofs of the revengeful Spirit of that People, upon this score. If *free quartering, plundering, robbing, disarming, seizing on Estates, imprisoning, murdering in cold Blood*, and the like, be a securing these poor Protestants against their private Enemies, they have no reason to complain of King James his Conduct: But, alas! to be ruin'd, and in the mean time to see the Authors of it boldly affirm, that they do us all the Offices of Kindness, is the hardest of fates. I would fain know where are these hundreds that he has pardoned; for those that flee every day from that unhappy Countrey, cannot instance us a single one of them: And for these that are kept in such *easie confinements*, their condition, of all Men, is most deplorable, seeing they lie at the Mercy of an Enemy, that waits but for a favourable juncture, to Sacrifice them to their Revenge. What sort of *securing*, the Protestants of *Ireland* meet with, against their *private Enemies*; and what is the ordinary effect of *Protections* given

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given to these poor credulous People, will appear by this one instance, among thousands of others, of a Protection given to a Farmer, in the County of *Antrim*, in these Words, *I Richard Hamilton, Lieutenant-General of his Majesties Forces in Ulster, do hereby receive into his Majesty's Protection, the Body and Goods of James Hunter, of Bullymenach, in the County of Antrim, Yeoman; and do promise and oblige my self, that none of the Army shall molest and hurt him, or take any thing from him. Given, &c.* The poor *protected Man*, thus noos'd, returns to his House, and follows his labour; but anon, down comes upon him the Rabble of the Army, like an inundation of *Goths and Vandals*; sweep all before them, and leaves nothing behind them, but a *starving Family*. The wretched Man making his address to *Hamilton*, receive this cold answer; *I promised to protect you from the Army, but I have no power to restrain the Rabble.*

In the beginning of the second Paragraph, we are told of the *Care King James has taken of the Church of England, that they be not disturbed in the exercise of their Religion, and possession of their Benefices; and that all Protestant Dissenters enjoy Liberty of their Consciences, without the least molestation.* And out of his Royal Care for the prosperity of his People (as he calls them) he has recommended to his Parliament, as the first thing necessary to be dispatched, to settle such a security and Liberty, both in Spiritual and Temporal Matters, as may put an end to these Divisions, which has been the source of all their *Miseries*; being resolved, as much as in him lies, to entail Liberty and Happiness on his People so far, as

to put it out of the power of his Successors, to invade the one, or infringe the other: And this, he takes God to witness, was always his Design. The first part of this long period, is but a repetition of what had been formerly said, in the first Paragraph, of the Protestants, their Religion, Privileges, and Properties being his chief Care; and what truth, that can bear, we have shewed already. There is one thing, that I find King James was ever inclinable to value himself upon, and which he here likewise mentions; *I mean, his tenderness to Protestant Dissenters, and his Principle for Liberty of Conscience.* They are very thick sighted, that could not discern what lay at the bottom of this Liberty, and what could be the true motive that should have induced one of King James's Religion to do it? But because he has been at the pains, so often, during his Reign, to assure us, That it was his Opinion Conscience should not be constrained, nor People forced in Matters of Religion; and particularly in his Declaration for Liberty of Conscience, dated August 4. 1687. I'll beg leave to say, That in this, King James is no obedient Son of the Church of Rome; for it has, over, and over again, decreed the *extirpation of Hereticks*: It encourages Princes to it, by the offer of the Pardon of their Sins: It threatens them to it, by denouncing to them not only the Judgments of God, but that which is often more sensible, the loss of their Dominions. It's true, *Bellarmino* tells us, *The Church does not always execute her power of deposing Heretical Princes, though she always retains it*; and he gives a very good reason for it, *because she is not at all times in a capacity to put it in Execution*: So the very same Reason, might have made it unadvisable to King James, when he was so liberal of his Tolerations,

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rations, to extirpate Heresie, because it could not be then easily done: But we see the Right remains intire, and is put in execution, in such an unrelenting manner, in our neighbouring Countries, that it has a very ill Grace, to see any Member of that Church pretend to be against *constraining the Conscience*, in point of Religion: And when we consider, that neither the Policy and true Interest of *France*, nor the greatness of their Monarch, could withstand these bloody Counsels, that are indeed parts of that Religion; I could never see any reason to induce us to believe, that the late Tolerations of Religion were proposed with any other design, but either to divide the Protestants among themselves, or to lay them asleep, till it was time to give the alarm for destroying them. And that, in the Opinion of that Church, the Glory of extirpating Heresie, is valued above all other great Actions, we have a remarkable instance in that famous Harangue, made by the Bishop of *Valence*, to the *French King*, in the Name of the *Convention of the French Clergy at St. Germane*, in *June 1684*. where that Prelate having recounted the *innumerable Conversions made by that Kings Orders, Cares, and Liberalities*, to use his very Words; he subsumes thus: *Je bien même, que je chercherois vainement dans les siècles passés, que l'appellerois vainement à mon secours, tous les éloges des premiers, et des plus saints Empereurs.* It were, says he, *in vain to search into the Ages past; It were in vain to call to my assistance all the Panegyricks of the first and holiest of the Emperours*: And afterwards he treats him with the Title of the *Great Restorer of the Faith, and extirpator of Heresie*; and tells him, that *these infinitely surmount all his other glorious Titles.* And then, speaking of his Masters great Victories in *Germany, Flanders,*

Flanders, &c. and the Peace of *Nimiguen*, made upon the back of them, he concludes thus: *That the Fruit, which the King had received by that Peace, made it fully apparent, what was the principal end he aim'd at, in his Victories; meaning, the Extirpation of Hereticks.* The late King *James*, has always copied so fair after *Louis le Grand*; That we have no Reason to question, but in this so glorious a work, of *extirpating Heresie*, he would have come up to the Original, if his Designs, and a favourable juncture of time had concurr'd together.

When he tells us, **That the first thing he has recommended to his Parliament, is, to settle such a Security and Liberty, as may put an end to these Divisions, which have been the source of all our miseries,** I find the greatest exactness of Truth, in these Words, if we but take them in the sense and meaning of the Speaker, *viz.* a *Roman Catholick Prince*. For, albeit we all know, that the first thing recommended by King *James*, to his *Irish Parliament*, was, The repealing the *Act of Settlement*; which is, indeed, the great Charter, by which most of the Protestants enjoy their Estates: And tho' the destroying that *Act*, gives a mortal blow to the Protestant Interest in *Ireland*; yet, according to the native Principles of King *James* his Religion, the repealing of this *Act of Settlement*, may well be called, **The settling a Security, that may put an end to their Divisions, which has been the source of all our Miseries:** That is to say, King *James*, from a Principle of Religion, is resolved to remove that *Barrier*, that protects the Protestants of *Ireland*, in their Separation from the Church of *Rome*; That by its removal, he may be in a capacity conform to the Holy Dictates of that Church, and
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the laudable Example of *Lewis XIV.* to put an end to all Divisions in point of Religion, by forcing them to return to the Mother-Church, by *the calm Methods* of late, so happily used in *France*. And this, I am very inclinable to believe, he may, with a safe Conscience, *take God to Witness, was always his Design*. I am something surprized to hear King *James* his Secretaries, pop out their Master's secret Designs, that were so much his Interest to conceal; but the Truth is, we knew them before, to our Cost; and we hope, are on the way, to be sufficiently secured against any further Effects of them.

In the end of this Paragraph, we are told, **That several Protestants, are now returned to their Country and Habitations; and that more would follow, if the Ports were open: But the Usurpers, (as he pleases to call their present Majesties) know too well the Sincerity of his intentions, to permit a free Passage for them.** This, indeed, is all of a piece with the rest. We are Witnesses, every Day, of hundreds of poor Protestants of that Country, grasping every Opportunity, they can at any rate purchase, to abandon their Homes, and all that's dear to them, that they may but escape with their Lives: And I desire any of King *James* his Friends, to instance me one single Person, of any Condition, that have dared to return Home, since his Arrival in *Ireland*; none of them being so far in love with Destruction, as to venture on his Protection. In this *Epithet*, King *James* is pleased to bestow on their Majesties, he imitates his Patron, *Louis le Grand*; who, I confess, has the greatest Reason of Hatred against his Majesty, as being the *great Supporter of the Liberty of Europe*; and who, in conjunction with his Allies, is best able to bring to Reason
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that *insupportable Enemy of Christendom*; yea, of Mankind it self. It were an impertinent piece of Boldness, or rather, unpardonable Impudence, to offer to vindicate their Majesties from that injurious Designation; since the Wisdom and Power of the Parliament, is paramount to all private assertions of their Majesties just Right: And that the most, if not all the Crowned Heads, and Sovereign Princes, and States of *Europe*, not only rank our present King, among the best and greatest Kings of *England*; but promise to themselves, from his Assistance, to bridle *Louis le Grand* within his proper *Boundaries*. It was ever looked upon as a Principle of common Law; That an Heir in *Remainder*, has just Cause to sue him that is in Possession, if he makes *Wastes* on the Inheritance that belongs to him in Reversion. That the Heir of a Crown should interpose, when he sees him that is in Possession, hurried on by bad Counsels, to subject an independant Kingdom, to a Foreign Jurisdiction, is much more reasonable, since the thing is of much more Importance; and that this was King *James* his Case, is apparent, by the Transactions of the Earl of *Castlemain* at the Court of *Rome*; and the rather, that by a great many Statutes, it was Treason to have Correspondence with that See: This joined to the setting up of a pretended Heir, in such a manner, as the whole Kingdom believed him supposititious, was a just and lawful Ground for one *Sovereign Prince* (such as his Majesty was when Prince of *Orange*) to make War against another, that had so abused his Power; and 'tis an unquestionable Maxim among Lawyers, *That the Success of a just War, gives a lawful Title to that which is acquired in the Progress of it.* Therefore, King *James* having so far sunk in the War, that he both abandoned his People, and deserted the Government,

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Government, all his Right and Title to the Crown did thereupon accrue to his present Majesty, in the *Right of Conquest*: So that he might have lawfully then assumed the Crown: But his present Majesty chose rather to leave the Matter to the determination of the Peers and Representatives of the People, assembled with all Freedom in the Convention, who did thereupon declare him King; so that, tho' he was vested with a just Title of Conquest, he chose rather to receive the Crown by their Declaration, than to hold it in the Right of his Sword. This I thought fit to say, not so much for Confutation of the injury done their Majesties in the above-mentioned Designation, which needs not my Pen; but to state their Right to the Crown in such a Light, as may remove needless scruples of swearing Allegiance to them.

In the beginning of the third and last Paragraph, King *James* tells us, **That nothing but his own Inclinations to justice, could prevail with him to such a Proceeding, as that of his Care of his Protestant Subjects in Ireland; and hopes his Protestant Subjects in England (as he calls them) will make a Judgment of what they may expect from him.** Indeed, it is no difficult Matter, to make a Judgment of what we may justly expect from him, if ever Divine Judgment, as the Reward of our Ingratitude for so great a Deliverance, should permit us to fall again under the heavy Yoke of a Popish Prince, whom we have so justly and happily thrown off. King *James* is of a Religion, that has, in a famous Council, decreed, *That no Faith is to be kept with Hereticks; much less with Subjects, that he looks upon, as so many Rebels; and will not miss to treat them as such,*

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whenever they give him the Opportunity of doing it. For his greatest Admirers do not run to that height of Idolatry, to imagine him so much *Angel*, as not to take all Methods to revenge such an Affront, and secure himself at our Cost, from such Treatment for the future. The Apprehensions of which Resentment, would strike such Terror in Men's Minds, that nothing would be capable to divert them from offering up *All*, for an Atonement; and *Popery* and *Slavery* will be thought a good Bargain, if they can but save their Lives. Then we might lament our Miseries, when it should be out of our Power to help them; for a *Prince of Orange*, is not always ready to rescue us, with so vast expence, and hazard of his Person. And I must say, if ever our Madness should hurry us thus far, we should become rather the Objects of Laughter, than of Pity.

Therefore, King *James* **promises and declares, That nothing shall ever alter his Resolutions to pursue such, and no other methods, as by his said Subjects in Parliament, shall be found proper for their common Security, peace and Happiness.** Such silly Baits as these, will not now take; and here is a great deal of Pains lost, to perswade us to rely upon Promises, so often made already, and as often broken. What Adjournments, Prorogations, and Dissolutions of Parliament, we have had of late, is not easie to be forgotten. We have found, to our sad Experience, that the Interest of the Court, and that of the People, were two incompatible things; and to endeavour a Redress of the least Grievance, *in a Parliamentary way*, was not only a vain Attempt, but a design, branded with the infamous Name of *Dissatisfaction*

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faction to the Government. I need not be at the Pains to repeat all the Promises made by King James, of the same Nature with this in his Declaration; and how well they were observed, we all know. Yet I cannot but take notice of *one*, made in his first Speech to his Privy-Council, an hour after his Brother's Death, printed by his own Command, in these Words: *My Lords, before I enter on any other, I think fit to say something to you, since it has pleased Almighty God to place me in this Station; and I'm now to succeed to so good and gracious a King, as well as so very kind a Brother. I think fit to declare to you, That I will endeavour to follow his Example; and most especially, in that of his great Clemency and Tenderness to his People. I have been reported to be a Man for Arbitrary Power; but that is not the only thing, that has been said of me: And I shall endeavour to preserve this Government, both in Church and State, as it is now by Law established. I know, the Principle of the Church of England is for Monarchy, and the Members thereof have shown themselves good and loyal Subjects; therefore I shall always take care to defend and support it. I know the Laws of England are sufficient to make the King as great a Monarch as I can wish: And as I shall never depart from the just Rights and Prerogatives of the Crown, so I shall never invade any Man's Property.* He that can reconcile this Speech, with King James his after-Actings, is the fittest Person I know, to explain the Popish Notion, of our Saviour's Body being in a thousand distinct Places at once. In these Expressions, he takes it very unkindly to have been reported a Man for Arbitrary Power, and promises a great many things, that are contradictory to it; but

how well he deserved the Character; all his Conduct has made it appear, with a Witness.

We have one of the most remarkable instances of King James's being against Arbitrary Power, in his Declaration of the 12th. of February 1686. for a *Toleration in Scotland*; where we find these new coin'd Words, thrice made use of, *Our absolute Power*; with this addition, *Which all our Subjects are to obey without Reserve*. Now *Absolute*, in its natural Signification, importing the being without all ties and restraints; then, the true meaning of this, seems to be, That there is an inherent Power in the King, which can neither be restrained by Laws, Promises, nor Oaths; for nothing less, than being free from all these, renders a Power Absolute. Though the Term *Absolute* was enough to stretch our Allegiance; yet that which comes after, is yet a step of an higher Nature, tho' one can hardly imagine, what can go beyond *Absolute Power*; and 'tis in these Words, *Which all our Subjects are to obey, without Reserve*. This is, indeed, the carrying Obedience many degrees beyond what the Grand Seignior yet ever claimed; for the most despotick Princes in the World, before *Lewis le Grand's* time, thought it enough to oblige their Subjects to submit to their Power, and to *bear* whatever they thought fit to impose upon them: But, till the fatal Days of the Dragoon-Conversions, it was never so much as pretended, that Subjects were bound to obey their Princes, *without Reserve*; and to be of his Religion, because he would have it so; the only convincing Argument used by these *booted Apostles* of late. So, without doubt, this Qualification of the Duty of Subjects, was industriously put in here by
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King James his Jesuitick Counsels, to prepare the Protestants of Scotland for a terrible *Le Roy lê vent*, since the poor Pretensions of Conscience, Honour, Religion, and Reason, would have been reckoned as *Reserves* upon their Obedience; which were all, by the Expressions, shut out.

Before I leave this Paramount instance of King James's assuming to himself an *Arbitrary Power*, beyond what the Great *Turk* claims, and contrary to his own reiterated promises, I must take notice of another very *comprehensive expression* in that same Declaration for a Toleration in Scotland, and it's this. *We think fit to declare, That we will not suffer Violence to be offered to any Man's Conscience, nor will we use force, or INVINCIBLE NECESSITY upon any Man, on the account of his Perswasion, nor the Protestant Religion.* When I first read these Words, I easily perceiv'd what caution was used in the choice of them; for it is clear, the general Words of *Violence* and *Force*, are to be explained and determined by these last, of *INVINCIBLE NECESSITY*: So that King James very wisely promised only, to lay no invincible Necessity on his Subjects; but for all *Necessities* that were not *Invincible*, they might expect to have felt a large share of them: For Disgraces, want of Imployment, Finings, Imprisonments, and even Death it self, are all *Vincible* things to a Man of a firmness of Mind; yea, the Violence of Torture, the Furies of Dragoons, and the Precedents used of late in *France*, might have been fairly included within this Promise, since a great and sublime Soul, fortified with an extraordinary measure of Grace, might be able to support under them.

Now.

Now, since we have had so many experiences of King *James's* faithfulness to his Promises, before he abandoned the Government, I pray, what Arguments has he of late given us, that he will be more observing of his Word, then hitherto he has been. Sure, the reducing Hereticks to the See of *Rome*, is no less Meritorious than before; nor King *James*, by breathing a little of the *French Air*, and concerting Measures with *Lewis* the Fourteenth, become less Bigot.

King *James* concludes his Declaration with assuring all his pretended Subjects, That if, within twenty Days after his appearing in person within England, they return to their Obedience, by deserting his Enemies, and joining with him, he will grant them his full pardon, and all past miscarriages shall be forgot. This merits no other Answer, but what has been already said: Only this, he must have the worst Opinion of the frailty of Humane Nature, that can be brought to believe, That any Man, not altogether divested of his Reason, can be prevailed with, to join King *James*, though he were in *England*, except he be of that Religion that obliges him to assist a Prince, that sets up so fairly for the Glorious Title of the *Extirpator of Heresie*; and to venture all upon the uncertainty of seeing their Church Triumphant. And if there be any of the Protestant Perswasion, so strangely infatuated, as but to wish his Return, I shall entertain them with no other Answer, but the recommending to them that place of Holy Writ, Preached upon before the House of Commons, of late, by an eminent Divine, *Ezra* 9. v. 13, 14. And after all that is come
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*upon us, for our evil deeds, and for our great trespass,
seeing that thou our God hast punished us less than our
Iniquities deserve, and hast given us such a Delive-
rance as this: Should we again break thy Command-
ments, and joyn in affinity with the People of these
abominations; wouldst not thou be angry with us, till
thou hadst consumed us, so that there should be no
remnant, nor escaping?*

F I N I S.

ADVERTISEMENT.

A Vindication of the present great Revolution in *England*; in five Letters passed betwixt *James Welwood* M. D. and *Mr. John March*, Vicar of *Newcastle upon Tyne*. Occasioned by a Sermon preached by him on *Jan. 30. 1688*. before the Mayor and Aldermen, for *Passive Obedience* and *Non-Resistance*. The Second Edition.
